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Brief Investigation  
of the causes which created  
the Leno Controversy on the  
Election of Mayor

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# **BRIEF INVESTIGATION**

OF THE CAUSES WHICH CREATED

## **THE LATE CONTROVERSY**

ON THE

### **ELECTION OF MAYOR.**

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BY

A DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF THE COMMON COUNCIL.

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“LET ME EXHORT AND CONJURE YOU NEVER TO SUFFER AN INVASION OF YOUR POLITICAL CONSTITUTION, HOWEVER MINUTE THE INSTANCE MAY APPEAR, TO PASS BY WITHOUT A DETERMINED PERSEVERING RESISTANCE.”

JUNIUS.

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NEW-YORK,

1830.

GANSEVOORT - LANBING  
COLLECTION



**BRIEF INVESTIGATION, &c.**

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TO THE

**Republican Electors of the City of New-York.**

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As the Republican General Committee have volunteered a denunciation of those members of the Common Council who were opposed to the re-election of WALTER BOWNE, Esq. and as the *Courier and Enquirer* has deemed it expedient to echo the malediction, it is due to the consistent, undeviating, and honest members of the Party, to be informed of the causes which produced this unpleasant controversy.

If in the course of this investigation, I shall conclusively fasten on the friends of Mr. Bowne, the charge of deviating from the usages and principles of the Republican party, and exhibit them as merely united together by the ties of individual interest and private advancement, guided by no prominent landmarks of party discipline, but yielding solely to the influence of personal preference; I trust that you will be convinced, that in endeavoring to sustain them, the General Committee have not only deviated from their proper sphere, but have attempted to force the current of public opinion from its legitimate channel, and make its course subservient to the designing views of interested politicians.

It is understood that *five members* of that body were opposed to the resolutions promulgated by the General Committee, and before the expiration of the present year, I am of

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opinion that all will be fully convinced of the impropriety of courting the hostility of a majority of the people of this city, by denouncing their representatives in the City Council. While the great body of the Republican party, bow with due submission to the proper edicts of their representatives in General Committee, they have sufficient independence to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power, and repel the maledictions of unauthorized proscription.

If the Republican members who are *denounced* by the General Committee, have strictly adhered to the known usages of the party, and if their conduct has comported with its principles and discipline, I can conceive of no excuse for those who have endeavored to shield the deserters from its landmarks, with the *Ægis* of their official approbation.

When it is recollected that Mr. Bowne endeavored at the last Election, by his decision as Chairman of the General Meeting at Tammany Hall, to force three individuals on the party who were obnoxious to a majority of its members—that he has recommended one of those persons for the responsible station of Bank Commissioner; and when *another of those very individuals* was the *author and presenter* of the sweeping resolutions which were adopted in General Committee, it cannot be uncharitable to conclude that Mr. Bowne was personally concerned in this political anathema, and that in this instance private prejudice took precedence of public good.

Educated in the school of democracy, and attached to its principles by every tie of feeling, and every association of friendship, I cannot but deprecate every attempt to destroy its influence, and impair its unity.

It is a source of regret that individuals have crept into our ranks, and attained stations of high importance, who having originally been associated with our opponents, and whose views in joining the dominant party, being merely selfish, have substituted personal advancement for purity of purpose, and in their anxiety for *men*, have abandoned *principle*.

For myself, I do not contemplate the sacrifice of any known principle of the party, to gratify either the empty pre-

tensions of boisterous converts, or the selfish clamors of designing partizans.

Great efforts have been made to identify the success of Mr. Bowne, with the triumph of Republican principles, but I shall in my next number unfold the machinery which placed him in the chair of office ; and am mistaken in your intelligence and purity, if your decision is not in accordance with my own.

I am aware that a majority of the people of this city will consider this exposition as unnecessary, but am unwilling that the views that governed the majority of your representatives, should depend solely on the evanescent record of oral information.

*A democratic member of the Common Council.*

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TO THE

**Republican Electors of the City of New-York.**

**NO. 2.**

Having in my first number, considered the proscriptive resolutions of the General Committee, I will now proceed to unfold the means which were resorted to by the friends of Mr. Bowne, to secure his re-election.

In the early part of the month of December last, *General Arcularius* and *Assistant Alderman Jeremiah*, issued notices, which were severally delivered to the Republican members of the Common Council, convening a Caucus at the Old Alms House. This notice was in the usual form, and in the following words, viz.

*" New-York, Dec. 2d, 1829.*

*" SIR,*

*" You are requested to attend a meeting of the Republican members of the Common Council elect, on Friday evening the 5th inst. at the Old Alms House.*

*" HENRY ARCULARIUS,  
" THOMAS JEREMIAH."*

This call was made in strict accordance with the precedent established last season, by the present leading friends of Mr. Bowne, both as to the time and place, and the individuals invited.

That this assertion may be fully established, I will name the persons who were called to this Caucus, viz.

The Recorder—Messrs. Nevius and Roosevelt, of the 1st Ward—Messrs. Brown and Bryson, of the 4th—Mr. Arcularius, of the 5th (Alderman Rogers being absent)—Messrs. Strong and Townsend, of the 6th—Messrs. Seaman and Scott, of the 7th—Messrs. Brown and Bedell, of the 8th—Messrs. Wells and Rogers, of the 9th—Messrs. Meserole and Jeremiah, of the 10th—Messrs. Marsh and Dibblee, of the 11th—Messrs. Lee and Cooper, of the 12th—Messrs. Palmer and Lovett, of the 13th—and Messrs. Woodruff and Engs, of the 14th.

As it has been asserted by the friends of Mr. Bowne, that the above call was "illegal and unauthorized," it will be proper to revert to the last year's Caucus, which was called by *Alderman Lozier*, at the instance of the Recorder and a few leading friends of Mr. Bowne, without consulting a large majority of the Republican members who were invited. The invitation of Alderman Lozier was extended to the following Republican members, viz: The Recorder—Messrs. Cebra and Roosevelt, of the 1st Ward—Messrs. Brown and Bryson, of the 4th—Messrs. Rogers and Arcularius, of the 5th—Messrs. Lozier and Strong, of the 6th—Messrs. Coe and Seaman, of the 7th—Messrs. Brown and Cowan, of the 8th—Messrs. Peters and Wells, of the 9th—Messrs. Meserole and Jeremiah, of the 10th—Messrs. Dodge and Pinckney, of the 11th—Messrs. Lee and Cooper, of the 12th—Messrs. Palmer and Lovett, of the 13th—and Messrs. Woodruff and Engs, of the 14th.

It will thus be perceived, that the same principle governed the selection for both Caucuses.

If it be urged, that the *exclusive few* who dictated the last year's Caucus were not consulted, the same objection might have been raised by a large majority of the Republican mem-



bers the last year, who were not honored with a consultation. The Republican members who gave the invitation the present season, possess as pure Republican principles, and have exhibited as great fidelity and devotedness to the party as *Alderman Lozier*; and I presume the fact will not be questioned, that they possess at least *equal* claims to *capacity* and *intelligence*. These gentlemen had prepared a statement to submit to the meeting, detailing the reasons which governed them in this measure, and being both the *regularly nominated democratic* representatives of the party, they could not anticipate any reasonable objections to assemble at their call.

On the morning of the 5th December, the day at which the first Caucus was called for seven o'clock in the evening, rumors were afloat, that the friends of Mr. Bowne, to the number of *twelve*, had met the previous evening at the house of the *Recorder*; and fearing the success of their favorite candidate, had deemed it expedient to call a *partial* Caucus at the Street Commissioner's Office at five o'clock—two hours previous to the general call.

For myself, I had serious doubts of the truth of these statements; more especially, as the Recorder had previously offered a proper and religious resolution in Common Council, calling on all good citizens to abstain from their usual avocations, and recommending them seriously to comply with the request of the Governor, in paying all due respect to this day, specially set apart for *prayer* and *thanksgiving*.

That he should manifestly violate his own resolution, by assembling his political friends at his house, *on this day*, to devise schemes of disorganization, seemed totally at variance with probability.

The people of this city having by an overwhelming majority, deprecated his interference in our municipal government, was an additional reason, which made me hesitate to believe in his making this improper attempt to disfranchise a portion of the Republican representatives of the people.

The vote in the Convention, which formed the new Charter, to *exclude* the Recorder from being hereafter a mem-

ber of the Common Council, or to participate in its measures, was almost *unanimous*. This fact speaks volumes, in relation to the impropriety of this corrupt interference on his part. Yet such was the fact.

At the appointed hour, *sixteen* persons assembled at the Street Commissioner's Office, when after the secession of one of their number, who was not disposed to disfranchise his Republican brethren, they entered into a resolution, not only to support Mr. Bowne for the office of Mayor, but DELEGATED TO THEMSELVES THE POWER TO CONFER ALL THE APPOINTMENTS IN THE GIFT OF THE COMMON COUNCIL UP TO THE YEAR 1831.

It is due to one of those gentlemen, however, to state, that he opposed the sweeping resolution above alluded to, and the next morning gave honorable notice of his determination to abandon their self-constituted and interested combination.

If in reverting to the course which was pursued by the friends of the Mayor, we even assume the position, that the gentlemen who called the first meeting were not duly authorized, what good reasons can be adduced, for *their* refusal to extend *their* invitation to those Republicans of known fidelity, with whom they had associated during the past year, and who, after an invitation to their deliberations, had exhibited a faithful adherence to their Caucus pledges, in all the various appointments to office?

If these gentlemen pretend that they have been governed by the principle of admitting those *only* who were *regularly nominated*, why, I would ask, was *Aldermen Palmer, Mr. Jeremiah, General Arcularius*, and other regularly nominated members excluded, while *Mr. Lovett, Alderman Marsh* (who refused to attend) and others, *not regularly nominated* representatives of the party, were invited?

Or if the invitation was intended solely for the *Republican representatives*, who were considered consistent and faithful members of the party, why was Mr. Roosevelt and other *Federalists* received, while Alderman Strong, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Dibblee, General Arcularius, Mr. Jeremiah, and other *firm Republicans*, were expatriated?

The conclusion is irresistible, that both in their refusal to attend the *first* Caucus, and in their partial selection for the *second*, the friends of Mr. Bowne did not hesitate to repudiate those rules which they had prescribed the last season, as well as the usages which have ever governed the party; and in their adherence to *men*, prostrated those barriers, which have been considered sacred by all consistent Republicans.

At the hour designated for the general Caucus, the Republican representatives, who were *disfranchised* by the friends of the Mayor, or who did not desire to assist in their interested measures, assembled at the Old Alms House, and after a short deliberation, adjourned to a future day, to devise measures for sustaining their rights and privileges.

*A democratic member of the Common Council.*

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TO THE

**Republican Electors of the City of New-York.**

### **NO. 3.**

Having conclusively established the fact in my last number, that the friends of Mr. Bowne, in the commencement of their operations, refused to recognize the known principles and usages of the Republican party, and their *own precedent*, I shall now proceed to the consideration of the course pursued by the *disfranchised members*, after being so unceremoniously driven from all participation in appointments to office, during their term of service.

At their first meeting, the members who assembled at the *Old Alms House*, deemed it expedient to call another meeting in a few days, with the expectation that the gentlemen who met at the Street Commissioner's Office, after having time for deliberation, would perceive the impropriety of their course, and offer to their Republican associates, that share in their deliberations, which was their legitimate right.

Being disappointed in this reasonable expectation, they met pursuant to adjournment, and agreed to take all fair and honorable means to sustain the rights delegated to them by their constituents; as they were left no alternative, but either a tame submission to unauthorized usurpation, or unqualified resistance.

In adopting the latter course, they were of opinion, that while as individual members of the party, they might relinquish their personal rights, yet holding the responsible station of the representatives of the rights and privileges of their constituents, they would have forfeited all claims to public confidence, if they had tacitly submitted to the assumption "of an irregular and illegal combination," created in defiance of the usages of the party, and bound together solely by the ties of personal interest.

The Republican members who assembled at this meeting were—Alderman Nevius—Brown, 4th—Strong—Marsh and Palmer—Messrs. Arcularius—Townsend—Jeremiah—Dibblee and Engs; and at a subsequent meeting, it was deemed expedient to invite the representatives of the 2d and 3d wards; when it was expressly stated by a majority of the Republican members, that having originally associated together in conformity with the usages of the party, they could not consent to compromise their principles in the selection of a candidate for the Mayoralty, and that no other than a decided Republican should receive their support.

The gentlemen from the 2d and 3d wards, with a magnanimity which exhibits a striking contrast to the interested course of the Assistant Alderman of the first ward, and other Federal friends of Mr. Bowne, consented to waive their personal preferences, and unite in support of the candidate of the majority.

In accordance with these views, the members opposed to Mr. Bowne, nominated Mr. *Thomas R. Smith*, as their candidate for Mayor; and no other pledge was demanded, than if any member should change his views, he should give notice of the same to his associates.



While I am disposed to render ample justice to Mr. Bowne, for his political consistency since he has joined the ranks of the Republican party, it will not be considered invidious to remark, that *Mr. Smith* was a firm and undeviating *Republican*, while *Mr. Bowne* was an uncompromising *Federalist*; and that whatever may have been the claims of Mr. Bowne on the party, since his conversion, he has been amply rewarded by his elevation to some of the most important offices in the gift of the people of this State.

The friends of Mr. *Smith*, therefore, on party considerations, have equal, if not paramount claims, on the confidence of their Republican fellow citizens.

In the frequent deliberations of the disfranchised members, it will not be improper to state, that it was distinctly understood and agreed, that in the event of success, no attempts should be made to remove the friends of the Bowne party from office; but that if they were in the majority, they would not imitate their opponents in their proscriptive course.

In speaking of the merits of the rival candidates for the Mayoralty, it may be proper to remark, that it is a fact within the knowledge of every citizen who has visited the Common Council during their meetings the past year, that Mr. Bowne has exhibited a manifest lack of capacity and decision, as President of the Board.

Some of his present leading friends have borne frequent testimony to his total unfitness.

An attempt has been made by the friends of Mr. Bowne, to fasten on their Republican opponents, the charge of a corrupt coalition with the Federal members of the Board.

Satisfied of their utter inability, to give even a shadow of apology for their open abandonment of the usages and principles of the party, these gentlemen have endeavored to drown the indignant voice of their Republican fellow citizens, by raising the hue and cry of *Federal* influence.

While the apologists of Mr. Bowne and his friends are dwelling with such manifest emphasis on *Federal* men and *Federal* measures, it will be proper to notice the fact, that these *exclusive* Republicans have not hesitated to make over-

tures to some of these *same Federal gentlemen*, to induce them to join their ranks; and in their zeal to create proselytes, have resorted to concentrated and organized efforts, to shake the constancy of those whom they supposed accessible to conversion.

The firmness and decision exhibited by the opponents of Mr. Bowne, stands in bold relief, when contrasted with a portion of his Federal friends, who *only* opened their eyes to the incorrectness of their political course, when in full contact with the *loaves and fishes* of office.

*A democratic member of the Common Council.*

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TO THE

**Republican Electors of the City of New-York.**

**NO. 4.**

Having in my previous communications disclosed the origin of the Bowne Caucus, and exhibited their claims on the Republican party, I shall now change the scene to the Common Council Chamber on the 28th December, when the new Board was organized.

Although at the different meetings which were held by the disfranchised members, it was understood that the friends of the Mayor had promulgated his intention by voting on the ballot for Mayor, to elect himself to office; yet it was supposed that in this community, which has ever manifested a laudable jealousy of self-constituted and self-appointed power, no such attempt could be reasonably anticipated.

While a portion of the members honestly doubted whether this course might not be pursued, it was determined to offer an amendment to the resolution to proceed to ballot; which by testing the Mayor's decision, would resolve doubt into certainty, by compelling him to vote for or against the resolution.

An amendment was accordingly submitted in the following words:

“ But *whereas*, Walter Bowne, Esq. the present Mayor, is a candidate for the office of Mayor at the present election, and thereby interested in the question :—and *whereas*, the 13th rule of this Board declares that *no member shall vote on a question in which he is interested* :—and *whereas*, it is necessary for the free discussion of the qualifications of the candidates, that they should not be present :—therefore *Resolved*, that his honor the Mayor be requested to vacate his seat, and that the Recorder preside during the election.”

His decision on this amendment exceeded even the anticipations of his most determined opponents; for *refusing to put the question* on the amendment, he in violation of an absolute rule of the Board, which has ever been held sacred in all deliberate assemblies, prostrated the invaluable right of amending a motion, until by the main question being decided, the amendment was placed beyond the pale of consideration.

This decision was a melancholy evidence of the correctness of the statements made by the friends of Mr. Bowne, that he intended to vote for himself; for in *quashing* the amendment, he not only proceeded in direct opposition to the rule governing amendments, but openly violated the 13th rule of the Board, which deprives a member of voting on a question in which he is personally interested.

In *Clarke's* abridgement of *Jefferson's excellent Manual*, it will be perceived that both of the above rules are considered of vital importance; and that they are based on the immutable principles of propriety and justice.

In this standard work, page 146, speaking of the rule governing amendments, Mr. *Jefferson* observes: “ If an amendment be proposed inconsistent with one *already agreed to*, it is a fit ground for rejection by the house, *but not within the competence of the speaker to suppress, as if it were against order.*”

“ For were he permitted to bring questions of *consistence* *within* the vortex of order, he might usurp a *negative* on important modifications, and suppress instead of subserving the legislative will.”

Again, "amendments may be made so as totally to alter the nature of the proposition."

On the question of *personal interest* he justly remarks, page 114 and 115; "where the private interests of a member are concerned in a bill or question, *he is to withdraw*; and where such an interest has appeared, his voice has been disallowed even after a division. In a case *so contrary not only to the laws of decency, but to the fundamental principle of the social compact, which denies to any man to be a judge in his own cause*, it is for the honor of the house, that this rule of immemorial observance, should be strictly adhered to."

But the arbitrary measures of the Mayor did not conclude here, for after *giving the casting vote* to proceed into the election, and after declaring in the most explicit terms, "*that he had a right to vote on all questions, and that no vote of the Common Council should deprive him of that right*," he totally refused to notice a motion for *re-consideration*, although in a like instance in the early part of the last season, he had positively decided in favor of being bound by the motion to re-consider.

Under this state of things, during the pendency of a motion to adjourn, the *seven Assistants* being firmly convinced of his intention to elect himself, according to previous arrangement made at a meeting of the opponents of Mr. Bowne, vacated their seats; and by destroying a quorum, prevented the intended prostration of principle and propriety.

By the following minutes of the meetings of the Common Council, it will be perceived that his predecessors have ever vacated their seats during the election for Mayor, while they were candidates; and that Mr. Bowne had not even the shadow of precedent for his determination to preside during the ballot for his re-election.

"January 26, 1823."

"Alderman Zabriskie moved that the Board now proceed to the election of Mayor, which was carried in the affirmative. Mr. Allen, the present Mayor, *then left the chair*, which was taken by the Recorder, Mr. Riker."

"January 17, 1825."

"Alderman Mann, agreeably to notice of last meeting, moved that the Board now proceed to the election of Mayor



for the ensuing year, which was carried in the affirmative. His honor the Mayor, Mr. Paulding, requested that he might be permitted to leave the chair, which was agreed to; and he accordingly retired from the Common Council Chamber."

"January 3, 1826."

"The Mayor, Mr. Paulding, then observed, that with the permission of the Board he would leave the chair, which he accordingly did; and it was taken by the Recorder, Mr. Riker."

"December 25, 1826."

"Alderman Taylor's motion to proceed to the choice of a Mayor, was then taken into consideration—13 affirmative—12 negative. A member observed that as there were 26 members present, 13 was not a majority, and he considered the Board as entitled to ask the Mayor to vote. The Mayor (Mr. Hone) stated that he felt himself so situated on the occasion, that he begged the Board would *excuse him from voting*. The Board having *assented thereto*, he then declared the question carried, and requested the members to prepare their ballots."

"December 27, 1827."

"Alderman Ostrander moved that the board now proceed to the election of a Mayor for the ensuing year, which was agreed to. The Mayor, Mr. Paulding, requested to be permitted to leave the chair and retire, which was assented to. The Recorder, Mr. Riker then took the chair."

"December 29, 1828."

"The Mayor, Mr. Paulding, then observed, that on a former occasion, when his name was mentioned as a candidate for the office of Mayor, he had requested permission to leave the chair; but as at this time he was not a candidate for that office, he would do himself the honor of presiding at the election."

It has been asserted in the public prints, that Mr. Bowne never intended to vote for himself; but if any injustice has been awarded him in the imputation, it will find an excuse in his conduct during the different votes on this subject, independent of the assertions of his friends, that such was his intention.

For myself, his refusal to abdicate his seat ; his declarations in the Board ; his votes on the question of interest ; and the fact that he refused to make the explanation which he was subsequently compelled to, in his letter to the seven Assistants ; are in my mind, the most conclusive proofs of his original intentions.

*A democratic member of the Common Council.*

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TO THE

**Republican Electors of the City of New-York.**

**NO. 5.**

It is a maxim which has received the sanction of succeeding ages, that excessive desire for power and distinction cannot remain long concealed from observation ; and that, although the accomplished politician may be an adept in those arts of refined deception, which bid defiance to common scrutiny ; yet like the heel of the fabled Achilles, he is here found vulnerable.

This axiom was manifestly exemplified in the case of Mr. Bowne and his friends, in the Common Council Chamber, after the departure of the *seven Assistants*.

His honor *the Mayor*, trembled with rage and disappointment—the wily and courteous *Recorder*—exhibited a degree of passion which his uniform caution seldom admits—the *Federal Assistant* from the *First* was absolutely unmanageable ; and even the sweet-tempered Aldermen from the *7th* and *12th*, evidently lost their usual equilibrium.

The Mayor in the ardor of his desire for the public good, (i. e. his own re-election) dispatched that able negociator *Hays*, to beseech the absentees to return ; and when it was found that these gentlemen had adjourned to *Bellevue*, to dinner, he courteously proposed a recess until 5 o'clock, that these obstinate deserters might, by quieting the demands of hunger, feel more favorably disposed to further his pretensions.

Finding his condescension unavailing, after permitting the Recorder, the federal gentleman of the First, and others, to abuse these gentlemen *informally*, in their absence, he reluctantly adjourned the Board (notwithstanding his previous assertion that they must sit till dooms-day if a quorum was not formed) until the ensuing day at 1 o'clock.

The next morning orders were issued to the various dependants of the Bowne party, to swell the clamor of denunciation against the *Assistants*; and accordingly the hue and cry was raised, and every *whipper-in* echoed the sound.

It was most learnedly concluded that the Republic was in danger, and that in the downfall of Mr. Bowne, there would be a total shipwreck of Republican principles.

The hour of meeting arrived, and notwithstanding the din of preparation, the *seven Assistants* were still absent.

During an explanation, by the friends of these gentlemen, of the reasons which governed them in their absence, shouts of applause resounded from the assemblage of spectators; and it was evident that the popular voice failed to sustain the Mayor's pretensions.

So convinced was Mr. Bowne of this, that after adjourning the Board *to the next day*, it was deemed expedient on reflection, to *further* adjourn to a more distant period.

During the vacation, the seven Assistants addressed a letter to the Mayor, explaining the causes of their absence, and desiring of him the information whether it was his intention to preside, and vote for himself.

In his answer he admits that the *public good* (i. e. public sentiment) demands the avowal of his determination to *not vote for himself*; and accordingly at the ensuing meeting of the Board, they attended at the tea room for the purpose of assisting in the deliberations of the Council; when during a request from Alderman Strong, that their letter and the Mayor's answer might be read, Mr. Bowne unceremoniously adjourned the meeting, without giving the Assistants time to appear in the Council Chamber, in obedience to his request transmitted by the High Constable.

This abrupt adjournment was deemed a breach of the ordinary rules of politeness, being made while the seven Assistants were on their way to the Board, in obedience to the Mayor's request.

The long wished for consummation of the Mayor's hopes approximated, however, too near fruition, to be long delayed; and accordingly, on the second day after the preceding meeting, he again assembled the Board, and on the first ballot, Mr. Bowne announced that he had received *fifteen votes*, and therefore *declared himself duly elected* to the office of Mayor for the ensuing year; and immediately adjourned the Board.

The Mayor's undue anxiety for office, and want of decorum, was fully exhibited in his conduct at this election; for he not only announced his own elevation, but in his extreme haste to grasp the reins of power, refused even to delay for the tellers to declare the result.

His conduct in the early part of this meeting, by his arbitrary decisions on every motion which was offered by his opponents, declaring every thing which did not tally with his views out of order, and refusing to hear any remarks from the *disfranchised* members, was in perfect keeping with the uniform tenor of his career.

The result of the *first* ballot was certainly a shock to the friends of Mr. Smith, for they justly considered a breach of faith on the part of one of their number, when no pledge was demanded, except the annunciation of any individual member to his associates, if he changed his views, as in the highest degree disingenuous and dishonorable.

The additional fact, that the *fourteen* members had met together, a very few evenings previous to the Mayor's election, and had individually expressed their determination to sustain Mr. Smith, exhibited the baseness of the deserter in more glowing colors.

Impressed with this feeling, almost every individual in his turn became the object of suspicion, until one of the number who had been openly denounced, while coming from the Common Council Chamber, as the *political Judas*, declared



his determination to make an affidavit of his having voted for Mr. Smith.

This led a number of others to pursue the same course, until by calling on the different friends of Mr. Smith, the astonishing fact was ascertained, that the *fourteen* members had *all* voted for that gentleman.

At a subsequent meeting of the fourteen members, each was separately interrogated as to his manner of voting, and the most perfect conviction was impressed on their minds, of the impossibility of any mistake.

Under this state of things, I leave the public to conclude, how *fourteen* votes for Thomas R. Smith, which were deposited in the ballot box, were reduced to *thirteen*, when they were opened by the tellers.

*A democratic member of the Common Council.*

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TO THE

**Republican Electors of the City of New-York.**

## **NO. 6.**

Having now presented an impartial statement of the origin, progress and consummation of the contest which has agitated our city for the last month, it will not I presume be considered inappropriate, to indulge in a few remarks on the consequences which will follow this departure from principle, by the friends of Mr. Bowne, and the attempt to legalize their measures by the General Committee.

In this free and enlightened community, where all power is centred in the people, it is fortunate for those who have been the victims of illegitimate proscription, that in their appeal to the tribunal of public opinion, they can repose with confidence on the intelligence and impartiality of their peers.

Before this cautious, scrutinizing and virtuous court of judicature, the fallacy of deceptive pretensions will not fail to be exposed, and the arbitrary departure from sound princi-

ples, will invariably meet the righteous verdict of unqualified condemnation.

If any member of the Republican party is of opinion, that the opponents of Mr. Bowne have too sirenously persisted in their opposition, I will only reply, that it is necessary for the security of our rights, to resist the earliest aberration from principle; before success has legalized usurpation, and ill-gotten power, arbitrarily obtained, has assumed the place of legitimate authority.

Since writing my last number, a Committee has been appointed to investigate the discrepancy which occurred in the result of the ballot for Mayor, but by the complexion of the majority of its members, I do not anticipate a satisfactory report.

Independent of the fact, that the Mayor has appointed on this Committee of investigation, a majority of his own friends; he has chosen *two of those* from the *legal* gentlemen of the Board, while the *minority* are selected from members who are least versed in legal subtleties.

It is therefore obvious, that all the skill and adroitness of these gentlemen "learned in the law," will be resorted to, to shield the Mayor and his friends from censure.

Indeed, the Chairman of the Committee, who was the author of the resolution to go into this investigation, has already exhibited his desire to retreat; for after summoning the fourteen gentlemen who voted for Mr. Smith to attend the Committee, he absolutely *refused* to allow them to be examined.

It is probable that the gentleman from the First, offered the resolution without consulting the leaders of his new party; and having been advised of the impolicy or danger of further investigation, has wisely concluded to suspend all proceedings.

Mr. Bowne having exhibited an undue anxiety for his present office, I do not apprehend that he will abdicate his seat, except in obedience to the authority of a *legal* tribunal.

For myself, I do not covet the honors which the Mayor has obtained, in opposition to the wishes of a majority of the peo-

ple's representatives ; more especially when they have, *on oath*, volunteered the declaration, of their conviction of his incapacity to perform his official duties.

If Mr. Bowne wishes to hold his situation, in defiance of the evidence of fraud, or error in the ballot, I am not disposed to snatch from his brow the tarnished diadem of office, surreptitiously received and dishonorably retained.

The course which the General Committee has pursued, is a source of regret to many of the most able, experienced and consistent members of the party.

The experience of the late election has conclusively shown, that improper selections of candidates for public office, will not be sustained by a majority of the party ; and the different secessions from its ranks which have recently taken place, admonish our representatives in General Committee, to beware of hurling defiance at public sentiment.

In entering into this investigation, I disclaim the intention of endeavoring either to create or perpetuate a public excitement, but should be deficient in a proper sense of the obligation which I owe to my Republican fellow citizens for their renewed confidence, did I not relieve my associates and myself from the imputations which have been heaped upon us.

Had these attacks been confined to our own city, I should not have deemed it necessary to reply ; but powerful and concentrated efforts having been made to prejudice the officers of the State and General Governments against the opponents of Mr. Bowne, it became a duty to exhibit the *consistency* of his *friends* in its proper colors.

The great majority of the supporters of Mr. Smith were warm friends of General Jackson, while a number of the friends of Mr. Bowne were hesitating in their course between opposition and approval ; but success having now crowned the man of the people, these worthy patriots claim the honors of a victory which they had no share in obtaining.

If we take a brief review of the character of the leading supporters of Mr. Bowne, we shall be convinced that they are not such exclusive Republicans as has been asserted.

The *Recorder* has been long known, as one who has veered to every point of the political compass; and has never exhibited any stability of purpose, except in an ardent attachment to his individual interest.

Mr. *Roosevelt*, from the First Ward, who assumes to be a leader in this *Republican* Caucus, has but very recently emerged from the shell of *high-toned federalism*, and his sounding professions and ultra career, are stamped with that improper violence, which new made converts are so prone to exhibit.

Alderman Seaman, from the 7th ward, has been friendly to regular nominations but a very few years; and I well recollect the time when it was his pride and pleasure, to prostrate those candidates who were nominated at Tammany Hall.

Several other friends of Mr. Bowne could be mentioned, whose names were; until recently, unknown in the ranks of the party; and whose attachment to the Mayor, constitutes their sole claims to the confidence of their Republican fellow citizens.

To Mr. Bowne, personally, I entertain no hostility.

In contending for *principle*, I have no disposition to become the assailant of *men*, further than is necessary for a correct decision on the merits of this controversy.

In the different offices to which Mr. Bowne has been elevated by the Republican party, I have extended to him my feeble support; but cannot recognize the authority of even celebrated individuals, when they desire to cover a dereliction from duty, with the mantle of past honors.

Having continued thus far to pursue the polar star of Republican principles, I shall not now be tempted to follow those ephemeral meteors of faction, which are dependant on time and circumstance for their brilliancy or extinction.

I trust that in this examination, I have convinced the public:

1st. That in the attempt to sustain the friends of Mr. Bowne, the Republican General Committee have deviated from their proper sphere, and improperly interposed their



official authority to screen desertion from principle, and anathematize the supporters of party usage and pure democracy.

2dly. That the call for the first Caucus was proper and regular, and in strict accordance with the precedent established by the friends of Mr. Bowne; while the meeting at the Recorder's house, where a minority was entrapped to pack a majority, and the subsequent assemblage at the Street Commissioner's Office, was unauthorized by party precedent—not being confined to those members who were regularly nominated, or who were consistent Republicans—while it indiscriminately excluded Republicans who were last season admitted, and received *Federalists* who were unknown in the ranks of the party.

3dly. That the opponents of Mr. Bowne, subsequent to their exclusion, proceeded in strict conformity to Republican principles, in nominating a consistent Republican and friend of the administration, as their candidate for Mayor, and in all things abiding by the usages of the party.

4thly. That Mr. Bowne and his friends prostrated the known rules of all deliberative assemblies, in their anxiety for success; and that in vacating their seats at the Board, the *seven Assistants* were fully justified, by the preceding violation of rules and orders of the Bowne party.

5thly. That in their return to the Council Chamber, after *compelling* Mr. Bowne to state his intention *to not vote for himself*, while he *still refused to vacate his seat*, they evinced their desire to further the public interest:

And 6thly. The mystery which enshrouds the ballot for Mayor being still unexplained, and the Committee which was appointed to investigate this subject having refused to perform their duties; the inference is irresistible, that Mr. Bowne, in retaining his office, has determined to brave the indignation of this community, and that in his desire for power, he cares little for the *means* by which it is obtained.

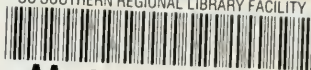
If the above conclusions are legitimately established, it affords a melancholy evidence of the proneness of human nature, in grasping at office and distinctions, to discard the pure attachment to first principles.

As the friends of Mr. Bowne have thought proper to become the assailants, and have brought to their aid the official power of the General Committee, they cannot murmur at a fair exposition of their career.

If in this investigation, I have failed to exhibit that power of persuasion and richness of intellect, which a more cultivated mind, or classic pen, might have summoned to its aid, I trust that the veracity of my statement may somewhat atone for the simplicity of its style, and that the public will not, in their verdict of approval or disapproval, merge the purity of the cause in the incapacity of its narrator.

*A democratic member of the Common Council.*

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